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POINTS FOR PLANNERS

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM (FLEMING REPORT) (H M S O 1/6)

This Committee was appointed by the President of the Board of Education in July 1942 ' to consider means whereby the association between the Public Schools. . . and the general educational system of the country could be developed and extended '. The inquiry covers the day schools now in receipt of direct grant from the Ministry, day schools which are now quite independent, and the Public Boarding Schools. The Committee, in response to a special request by Mr Butler, issued a report on the question of fees in Direct Grant Schools in April 1943 and, by a majority, reported in favour of their abolition. In the course of the debate on the Education Bill in the House of Commons Mr Butler intimated that he had not accepted the report, and that although under the Act fees in all maintained secondary schools—including any schools that decide to become aided in future—would be abolished on April 1st 1945, fees would remain in some Direct Grant schools. His remarks and those of Mr Chuter Ede left it doubtful whether schools which did not abolish fees would have to recruit on the basis of 100% special places or whether, when L E As had reserved certain places for their scholars, the remaining places would be filled as at present, by pupils whose parents can pay the fees and who qualify for admission. Now that the final report has been issued it deals separately with Direct Grant and the independent Boarding Schools.

Scheme A refers to Direct Grant Schools, the overwhelming majority of which are day schools, and Scheme B to the Public Boarding Schools.

Scheme A is to be open to any school which is now in receipt of Direct Grant or is independent, provided it is not conducted for profit and is regarded by the Ministry as efficient. The Local Authority or Authorities would have the right to reserve and pay for a certain number of places, to which children from their areas would be admitted free. Whether or not the L E As are to have the right to the exclusive selection of these children is not stated. The schools are to have the choice between abolishing all fees or charging fees on an income scale, which will be a national scale approved by the Ministry. If fees are abolished the deficit, after allowing for the payment by L E As for the reserved places, will be found by the Ministry. So will any deficit arising from the other method.

The most important question of all, namely how the places now reserved by L E As are to be filled, is left entirely in the air. The Interim Report referred to ' Governors' Places ' to be filled by the school on a different basis from that adopted by the L E A. No mention is made of Governors' Places in the final report, but it does not follow that the proposal has been dropped, since no other has been put in its place. The only democratic system is, that all schools in receipt of public money should recruit by one method only, and that a method that will be fair to all children. Unless the present system of double entry to these schools is not to continue, under another name, satisfactory assurances must be got on this point.

Scheme B is to apply to any of the Public Boarding Schools which wish to adopt it. They will have to admit each year 25% of Bursars who have spent at least two years in a Grant-Aided Primary School. These children can be sent either by a Local Education Authority, or by the Ministry of Education, and parents will pay according to their means. Every five years the scheme will be reviewed with a view to increasing the percentage of bursars but, where the number exceeds 25%, the requirement that all the bursars shall be drawn from grand-aided schools will be modified, for the curious reason that otherwise

these schools would not be equally accessible to all children. The method of selection somewhat resembles the proverbial needle's eye. Parents who want to enter their children for a bursary must state explicitly why they want them to go, and the school report must also contain this explanation. The applications will be sent to the Ministry who will sort them into Regions and set up Regional Boards to interview children and parents. These Boards will sent their recommendations to a Central Advisory Committee which will advise the Ministry which will make the awards, except that the Head of the School is to interview the children, and presumably the parents, and give the final acceptance. If, however, he rejects a child that has succeeded in surmounting all the previous hurdles, he must satisfy the Ministry that his refusal is reasonable. Nothing is said about the method of selection for places reserved at Scheme B schools by L E As. Once chosen by the L E A presumably only the Head of the School could reject.

S. D. S.

REPORT OF THE INFORMAL INTER-ALLIED COMMITTEE ON THE FUTURE OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE (H M S O Cmd. 6531 9d)

Early in 1943, a Committee consisting of representatives of eleven of the United Nations was appointed to consider unofficially the future of the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague. Substantially speaking, the Committee come to the conclusion that the Court does not need great modification. They assume that an International Authority after the war will require an International Court and the war itself will make necessary a new agreement dealing with the Court. They are of opinion that there should be no organic connection between the Court and any new international organisation, although this would not exclude consultation of the Court by international bodies and the enforcement of its decisions by the Authority. Severance of the connection between the League of Nations and the Court would mean a change in the system of nomination and election of judges. The Committee says that fifteen judges are too many and the number should be reduced to nine, exclusive of the national judges which the parties are allowed to nominate. The election would take place by ballot in writing, each Government sending its vote to an agreed Headquarters Government. Although the Committee does not mention it, it would seem worth while considering whether election should not be by proportional representation using the single transferable vote.

Students of international affairs will recall how some of the pre-war cases before the Court were rather too much of a political nature. The Committee therefore, proposes to amend the Court's statute to make it clear that only legal cases will be dealt with by it. They attach importance to the Court's power to give advisory opinions and suggest that the right to ask for these should be extended to all international associations of an inter-state or inter-governmental character and to any two or more States acting in concert. They propose to retain the provisions for dissenting judgments, to which they attach value. The paragraph in the existing statute, which has been thought to prevent the Court deciding cases in accordance with precedent, is shewn to mean that a decided case only binds the parties to it but the Court indeed must use decisions as means to deciding the rules of international law.

The report contains an interesting discussion of Regional Courts and Regional Chambers of the Permanent Court. It shows the real difficulties these proposals would involve but if international Government of some sort after the war becomes a reality it is unlikely that this report will be the last word on appeals or Regional Courts.

R. S. W. P.

THE CONTROL OF LAND USE (Cmd. 6537 H M S O 3d)

The Government's policy is now revealed in dealing with land in connection with planning and reconstruction after the war. The White Paper on 'The Control of Land Use' explains the principles the Government considers should be applied while the Town and Country Planning Bill 1943–4 covers some of these principles by a series of provisions intended to facilitate the acquisition of land for planning purposes ; the assessment of compensation payable for land acquired for public use ; and the extension of the powers of the planning authorities.

Those connected with planning will be aware of certain defects in our land system impeding proper town and country planning in Britain and these may be summarised as follows :

1. The difficulty of controlling the use to which land is put without paying fabulous compensation.
2. The failure to recover betterment from owners of land the value of which has been increased by planning and public improvement schemes.
3. The absence (except in a few narrowly defined cases) of powers of compulsory acquisition of land for planning purposes.
4. The absence of any aid by grant from the Exchequer to assist local authorities to meet the heavy cost resulting from the purchase of land or control of its use.

Space only permits a passing reference to the Uthwatt Committee's proposals. The White Paper rejects these proposals with regard to the first defect on the ground that it would involve a different treatment for owners of undeveloped land outside the towns from that given to owners of similar land within the towns and of owners of developed land wherever situated. This differentiation coupled with the difficulty of deciding where to draw the line between town and country areas it is stated will 'give rise to much controversy and dissatisfaction.' But this phrase might well be applied to some of the Government's proposals. Although the landowner will remain in possession of his development rights he will not be able to exercise them, no matter where the land is or whether built on or not, without the approval of the planning authority. Thus, responsibility for development or redevelopment remains with the owner ; the local authority will have power to give or refuse consent to development ; and private ownership of land remains. The White Paper does not however expect planning authorities to absorb the wide fluctuations in land values and since there are many factors which will lead to a redistribution of land values it is proposed that all financial questions relating to compensation and betterment shall be transferred to a central Land Commission—whose structure and functions are not defined, except that it shall be an independent administrative body responsible to Parliament through Ministers. The White Paper thus recognises the need for centralisation of finance, but rejects national planning.

Regarding the second defect the Government proposes that the landowner shall, when permission is granted to develop or redevelop for a different use, pay a betterment charge of 80 per cent of the difference between the value of the land with the benefit of the permission and its value if permission had been refused. This proposal bears much easier on the landowner than the Uthwatt Committee suggested, whose proposals were rejected as being 'extremely complicated'. The latter envisaged a recurring yearly payment based on annual site values while the Government consider one payment based on capital value clearing the owner's liability until the land is again developed or redeveloped. From this one payment, compensation is to be deducted which

would have been payable for the loss of development value existing on the 31st March 1939 if permission had been refused. The compensation provisions of the Government scheme are based on the principle that where land is deprived of any development or redevelopment value at the above date 'fair compensation' should be paid. The White Paper considers that no one can say at present what this value shall be, and therefore no compensation will be paid until five years has elapsed when an expert committee shall determine the amount. Land shall in the meantime be divided into 'green' or rural land, 'white' (all other unbuilt) land, and 'built-up' land, and the right to compensation on an undefined scale established. This is of course all very nebulous and it would appear that certain interests are playing for time.

The Bill certainly offers improvements with regard to the third defect in our present system. On application from a local authority the Minister, when satisfied that an area which has received considerable damage, should be laid out afresh as a whole, may make an order declaring the land to be subject to compulsory purchase. The Minister may also take similar action with regard to areas which are badly laid out or are of an obsolete character, such as many of the central areas in our towns. The Bill also authorizes compulsory acquisition in the case of land which may be required for highways in either of the above cases or for other public services. The Bill also includes new procedure to be followed in acquiring land for planning purposes, and although there is some improvement here over the present methods, there is little indication that the need for speed in dealing with our problems has been appreciated.

The Bill further suggests a by no means liberal system of grants-in-aid in three stages to meet the cost of acquiring and clearing land in blitzed areas. The first stage covers the payment of loan charges for a period of two years, which will be in most cases too short a time to put the blitzed areas again on a self-supporting basis. Secondly, payments will be allowed to meet loan charges in whole or part for a further eight years, and payable where the Minister is satisfied that extensive damage remains and that the land is consequently incapable of being brought into use for any major purpose. Thirdly, there is provision for extending the grant to another five years, but this only applies to special circumstances which might prevent the rapid redevelopment of a blitzed area.

In conclusion no provision is allowed for the acquisition of land for open spaces and similar purposes or to enable loan charges on capital cost of buildings to be met, and the whole question of financing the erection of new buildings in blitzed areas and those requiring development or redevelopment is completely ignored. Is it to be wondered that planning authorities view the Government's proposals with misgiving?

J. K. H.

THE DECASUALISATION OF THE DOCKER

A Wartime Expedient—and After?

By a Correspondent

I

'The Court is of the opinion that labour frequently or constantly under-employed is injurious to the interests of the workers, the ports and the public, and that it is discreditable to society. It undermines all security and is apt to undermine all self-respect upon the workers' part. It is only among those who have sunk very far, and whom the system itself may have demoralised, that it can be accepted as a working substitute for steady and assured employment. In one sense it is a convenience to authorities and employers, whose requirements are at the mercy of storms and tides and unforeseen casualties, to have a reservoir of unemployment which can be readily tapped as the need emerges for a labour supply. If men were merely the spare parts of an industrial machine, this callous reckoning might be appropriate; but society will not tolerate much longer the continuance of the employment of human beings on those lines.

'The system of casualisation must, if possible, be torn up by the roots. It is wrong. And the one issue is as to what practical means can be adopted of readily providing labour, while avoiding cruel and unsocial conditions.'[1]

Yet in 1940, twenty years after the Shaw Report on the conditions 'of employment of various classes of Dock and Waterside labour', casual labour[2] still remained a cardinal feature of the dock industry. The urgent demands of war, it is true, have 'torn up at the roots' the old method of engaging dock labour and decasualised the docker. This is, as yet, only a wartime expedient. The post-war position has yet to be determined.

By the end of 1940, only the western ports of this country were fully open for war traffic and even these were to be subject to fierce enemy attack; other ports could only be partially used. The situation was serious. Labour was generally in short supply. Many left the docks, some to join H.M. Forces and so form dock battalions for overseas work, others to work in war industries—as indeed they had been encouraged to do. It was obvious that such a policy would deplete the docks of the minimum number of men necessary to man the ports when more fully in use. If the ports were to be manned to meet the uncertain and irregular convoys at all hours, either the remaining casual dockers would have to be supplemented with dockers' battalions or civilian dock labour would have to be 'frozen' to the industry and paid for standing by at the State's bidding. The Minister of Labour chose the latter course and enforced on Merseyside and Clydeside an emergency Dock Labour Scheme, administered by the Ministry of War Transport, on the basis of a fixed payment to dockers for each of eleven 'turns' of four hours when not employed and available for employment. The Scheme was hurriedly pushed through and is still operative in those areas.

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[1] Shaw Report, para. 17. 1920.

[2] 'Casual employment implies these two elements—of short engagements and of want of selection' Beveridge—*Unemployment, p.* 77 1912.

At that time the dockers in the other ports had no such Scheme.

The Minister, in consultation with the National Joint Council of the Industry, devised a Scheme, to be administered by the Industry jointly, for freezing bona-fide dockers to dock work, by laying obligations on employers and men for the speedy turn round of ships and giving the men, instead of Unemployment Insurance, some payment when not employed and the employers an assured pool of labour. The Essential Work (Dock Labour) Order 1941, followed these negotiations.[1] The National Dock Labour Corporation, Ltd., was set up (September 1941) to administer local Dock Labour Schemes based on the Order. The Corporation is a non-profit-making body administered by an equal number of representatives of employers and workers with a Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Financial Director, appointed by the Minister himself. It controls all dock labour in a 'Reserve Pool' and allocates to employers at each 'call'[2] the number and type of men requisitioned by them. At the end of each job the docker returns to the Pool for re-allocation.[3] If there are not enough men in any one port, dockers are transferred from the nearest suitable Pool. While employed by the employers, the docker is paid in accordance with rates and conditions as detailed by local and national agreements; when employed by the Corporation he is paid 6/– ('attendance money') for each call at which he proves himself available for work.[4]

Only registered employers are allowed to engage in this work—specially defined for each port as port transport work—and may only employ registered dockers. Any infringement of the Order or the conditions of the 'Local Dock Labour Scheme' may result in the employer being taken off the register. Similarly, under the Scheme, a worker breaking the terms of his contract therein may forfeit his 'attendance monies', be suspended or dismissed. The employer has a right of appeal to the Minister; the worker may appeal to an appeal Tribunal set up in each port by the Local Joint Council of the Industry.

The funds necessary to finance the guarantee payments to the men, to provide buildings, welfare developments and the administrative costs of the Corporation, are met by a levy on wages paid by employers.[5]

Owing to the wide variety of conditions obtaining in the ports, the Corporation has decentralised its work as much as possible, reserving to the Central Board and Head Office national negotiations and control of policy and finance and discussions with the Ministries and the Industry. Local Boards, equally representative of both sides of the Industry, act in a general advisory and administrative capacity in the different port areas. In each port there is an administrative staff, under a Manager.

The Corporation now covers some sixty ports and includes in its employ 44,000 of the 76,000 dockers employed in the Industry. To these men it gives security of employment, payment of all monies earned on a fixed pay day, new covered control points for attending the twice-weekly calls and the beginnings of a welfare service.

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[1] This Order was subsequently replaced by the essential Work (Dock Labour) Order 1943.

[2] There are two calls Monday to Friday, and one on Saturday, related to the normal hours of work in the port; the call is generally fifteen minutes prior to starting time.

[3] In most ports, under a continuity rule, the docker is required to remain on the job until completed; in other ports he finishes at the end of the day and returns to the Reserve Pool at the next call.

[4] Weekly workers are not within the War Transport Schemes. These are included within Corporation Schemes, but remain allocated to and under the control of their employer until dismissed by him, when they return to the Reserve Pool.

[5] Originally fixed at 25% in respect of Reserve Pool workers, the percentage has been reduced twice and now stands at 10%. Employers of weekly workers originally paid 18¾% on such wages; this percentage has been reduced to 6¼%.

II

The men in the docks are beginning to appreciate the advantages of this social revolution which now assures them a weekly pay packet and some security of employment. The dockers in the Forces and other war industries are watching this development with great interest. Their one question is direct and simple; as they put it to the Minister recently, 'Ernie, are we going back to the Dole?'

The Corporation, it must be remembered, was set up to do a war job—to secure the speedy turn round of ships. It was not established—ostensibly at any rate—to implement the Shaw Report. Indeed the Corporation is tolerated by many only as a war measure. The Corporation, with the Industry, has done and is doing its war job. The Dock Labour force, creamed of the younger men who joined H.M. Forces and of those now in other industries, has turned round the ships quickly.

The employers also, with depleted staffs, have had to carry many additional burdens; they have endured long hours, additional administrative work, a variety of Ministry officials and new regulations administered by new committees. These things they have borne, though they look forward to their 'release' from wartime obligations.

The Corporation has shown that the decasualisation of the docker can be achieved—at a certain cost. In wartime, when such costs are largely passed to the Treasury in one form or another, there is little criticism from the employers on that account!

But the challenge yet to be met centres around decasualisation. Is it desirable and if so, how is it to be organised? Unfortunately it cannot be assumed that it is generally considered desirable in the Industry that the dockers should be decasualised. There are already indications that the enforced cooperation of this wartime expedient is unwelcome. There are a few men and some employers who would like a return to old conditions. The first preference docker, for example, sure of some work each week with the firm he followed, talks nostalgically of the 'freedom' he enjoyed during the rest of the week. Some employers think that the free choice of labour in the open market secured them the best men and the best turnout. This limited points of view, though understandable, have little regard to the wellbeing of the Industry as a whole or the large number of casuals without whom the Industry could not exist and who have no corner or preference in such a scheme.

It must be remembered, however, that during the last twenty-five years there has been a growing body of opinion among enlightened employers that decasualisation would benefit both the industry and the men. Some Port Authorities and major employers engaged a considerable number of 'permanent' dockers on a weekly basis, as a labour core to be supplemented with casual labour. Registration Schemes were introduced in major ports to identify dock workers, with a view to controlling the share-out of available work among bona-fide dockers. Thirty years ago the Ministry of Labour, through a system of Clearing Houses at Liverpool, collected dockers' wages earned with different employers and paid them out to the men weekly. Several schemes for decasualisation were mooted—some in concert with the Ministry of Labour. Yet the significant fact is that not one Scheme was established before the war. It is important, therefore, to note the reasons for this in order to evaluate the difficulties to be overcome before the decasualisation of the docker is assured. Some of the difficulties are financial; others arise from the nature of the Industry.

III

This Industry, unlike most other industries, is itself casual. A certain volume of shipping passes through the ports of the country during the course

of the year, but its arrival is by and large sporadic and spasmodic. Once the ship is sighted it is important in most cases to get it out to sea again on its next voyage in the minimum time. A quick turn round is the economic basis of this Industry. Idle time in port may mean increased costs with little or no profitable result.

The flow of trade is affected by the elements—fog, tempest and the tides. The natural peculiarities of the port will often determine the type of ships that can be handled and the type of equipment necessary. In addition, the industrial development of the hinterland of the port will influence vitally the volume of trade passing through the port. The factors all influence the costs of the Industry and tend to emphasise the uneven flow of dock work. Furthermore, this maritime service still remains an incongruous Victorian industry. Alongside the most modern equipment there is ' gear ' which has remained almost unchanged through all time; alongside the efficient stevedoring firm there is the entrepreneur keen on his immediate contract and quick return. In spite of fifty years public interest, the casual employment of the docker was only ameliorated even in 1940 by his adroit use of Unemployment Insurance. Contrary to the world-wide connections of this service, the industry is still parochial in outlook and conservative in its practices.

IV

Because of the above factors there is a wide variety in the types of employers engaged in this service. There are large organisations such as port authorities, shipowners and well-established stevedoring firms, adequately financed and well organised; such firms are able to withstand temporary setbacks and to carry a considerable number of men on weekly basis. There are, however, a much larger number of employers whose capital reserve is very meagre; these must live precariously. Among such may be found the docker who, having bought a little gear and borrowed other gear, will undertake stevedoring jobs. Moreover, for some employers the loading and discharging of cargo is only auxilliary to their main business, as for example, millers or Timber Merchants.

Competition is keen and sometimes unscrupulous. The profit motive dominates so many employers as to obscure the long-term views of the more enlightened few. Nor is this rivalry confined to individual employers; employers in one port are keen rivals of employers elsewhere and the battle of port charges is but one aspect of the traditional rivalries among the major ports.

It is not surprising that there is little unity, either in organisation or policy, amongst such diversified and conflicting interests, or that so few employers feel any deep concern as to the welfare of the Industry as a whole.

As late as 1920, for example, the employers, faced with a demand by the Union for a national minimum wage, had no national organisation of employers. They came together hastily prior to the Shaw Inquiry, hired expensive Counsel to represent them, only to find their case beaten and cartooned by the then uprising dock leader, Ernest Bevin, because he knew his facts, pleaded a ' common cause ' among his followers and had a simple case heard by a sympathetic court. Following this Inquiry an Employers' Organisation was formed, but it was little more than a consultative body to determine minimum rates and hours of work.

More recently, the establishment of the Corporation placed greater responsibilities on the Employers' (and Unions') organisations and the Employers' Association has been reorganised, though it still remains a federation of self-contained areas. There is no doubt, however, that the employers now realise that, having once established by practice the decasualisation of the docker, the issue can no longer be shirked; opposition can no longer sidetrack the issue.

V

The past policy of the Union has always been directed—(a) to secure minimum wages; (b) to speed up registration; (c) to press for a scheme which will secure a guaranteed weekly income with pension rights.[1] But the nature of the Industry and the organisation has of necessity determined Union tactics. For example, until the Employers or the State were prepared to help in some national scheme, decasualisation was not practicable. Although some employers were sympathetic to the idea, there was no common agreement to a National Scheme, nor was there any financial basis devised and agreed with the Industry and the Government. The Union therefore concentrated on the argument that as labour must be casual, the daily rates of pay and other conditions of employment must reflect this fact and compensate the worker for his 'off' days. The Shaw Report, reflecting the boom of the post-war period, gave the Unions a high daily rate; and the consequent National Agreement gave overtime rates sufficiently high to discourage employers from so working the men, unless for exceptional reasons.

A further practical policy pursued by the Union was that first suggested by Charles Booth (in his Survey of London, 1876), viz., to register dock workers by a system of tickets or tallies. The suggestion was developed in 1918 by Sir Norman Hill. The Shaw Inquiry, 1920, recommended 'that a system of registration of dock labour should be introduced into all ports, docks and harbours of the United Kingdom'. Although Registration Committees were ultimately established in most ports, they varied considerably in effectiveness. Registration was eventually enforced by an Order in 1940.

VI

No description of the Industry can be complete without reference to Unemployment Insurance. This was part of the dockers' income. He soon learned the art of securing the maximum benefit to which he was entitled and today will be heard to refer to 'three on the hook and three on the book'—that is, working for three days and drawing benefit on the others. This fund was usually quoted by both sides as a means of financing any scheme of decasualisation. The Treasury, not without cause, consistently rejected the proposal. Both employers and men in pre-war days in fact looked to this fund as an integral part of the finances of the Industry. Critics commented that the men drew in benefit four times the total of the annual joint contributions. Undoubtedly the same proposal will be revived in discussions of post-war decasualisation of the docker.

VII

One characteristic of this brief narrative is the apparent inability of the industry to work as a whole and without the spur of public inquiry. This is due to many causes. The men have long memories of the hard fight they have had to wage against appalling conditions; they distrust the 'other side' and even their own Union leaders have had to be wary when negotiating with employers, lest the men should suspect them. There is no cohesion among the employers and little sense of belonging to a national industry. Most negotiations are carried on through local Joint Councils, and the range of local agreements and conditions of work are as varied as the number of wharves and docks.

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[1] Evidence submitted to the Port Labour Inquiry (1930) by the Transport and General Workers' Union.

There is some justification for this state of affairs, but if the Industry is to function efficiently after the war it must be modernised in organisation, equipment and outlook; and to achieve this a marked change of attitude will be necessary among both workers and employers. Too often in the past the men's suspicion and resistance has been evident when new measures were proposed, such as the introduction of machinery to speed up work and lighten the load. It cannot be too strongly stated that it is a concomitant of the decasualisation of the docker that many present agreements and practices must be jointly reviewed and revised.

It is, then, within this loose industrial framework with its tangled undergrowth of local traditions, differing port conditions of work and local agreements anchored to a National Agreement that the issue of decasualisation will be argued. It is unlikely that the Industry alone will reach a solution or agree upon a plan. The Government must, therefore, continue its efforts once again to place this industry in line with other modern transport services and *inter alia* secure some form of decasualisation of the docker.

There are three ways in which this can be done—through the State, through the Employers' Association or through a public Corporation jointly owned and managed by employers and workers.

The State is, at the moment, responsible for Dock Labour Schemes at present on the Merseyside and Clydeside, but without doubt such a proposal would be unacceptable to both sides of the Industry. It would be the least satisfactory in practice. The Industry must be flexible in its structure to meet the fluctuating demands of the trade; it must be progressive and imaginative if it is to aid post-war shipping; it must be efficient if it is not to be a drag on the industrial development of the country. These qualities, of tradition and experiment, will best be developed without State control at the present stage of the Industry's growth.

An alternative would be for the employers to accept responsibility for maintaining a national pool of labour. On this basis the employers would share the cost of the stand-by time of the men not gainfully employed by the individual employer. In view of the history of the Employers' Association and its present organisation, it is unlikely that there will be common agreement among employers to formulate and finance any such scheme without outside aid; the men are not likely to accept any such arrangement.

The third alternative is to continue, as at present, a public non-profit-making Corporation for this purpose. This proposal has the advantage of maintaining full and free responsibility within the Industry on a partnership basis and with State influence without control. In fact, the Corporation from this point of view is an exceptionally interesting wartime experiment. It is without the realm of party politics, though its actions may be queried in the House. It controls its own finances, though it has financial guarantees, which it has not yet had to use, with the Treasury. By decentralising administration and establishing Local Boards, it has devised a method of culling the wide and varied experience of working in the Industry and making adaptations within the framework of a national policy to meet local peculiarities of port working. By its standing as a national organisation it has raised the level of the docker from one of the lowest forms of casual work to that of a regular workman. By its national outlook it has been able to influence localities to accept a measure of responsibility with regard to the social conditions of the men.

The Industry must find some way of financing the Scheme. This problem proved insoluble in pre-war days when schemes of decasualisation were discussed. It was argued that as the employer and worker contributed to Unemployment Insurance, any scheme for the decasualisation of the docker and so relieving the Unemployment Fund, should be financed in part by monies from that Fund. This argument, as has been shown, is almost traditional

in this Industry. The Industry must, first, determine what size labour force is required to meet its varying and seasonal demands; this would seem to be a reasonable charge to be borne as normal expenditure. It is not the duty of the State to maintain men for occasional use on the docks. Nor will decasualisation of the docker remove this class of worker from being a liability on the Fund. The argument is fallacious and misleading. If the State has any special obligations to the Industry, its financial obligations should be specified and related to such obligations.

At the moment the Corporation is, as has been said, financed by a levy on wages, which although paid by the employers, is usually chargeable to some Government account. This arrangement will end and any such levy will in future have to be borne by the Industry. Decasualisation is an increased charge to the Industry, but it is only one part of a more general reorganisation which will reduce costs by greater efficiency in the use of men and machines.

Even so, docking is a national service closely related to the industrial life of the country. The ebb and flow of trade is in part determined by factors outside its scope. It may be subject to national or political policy. If the State requires the Industry to accept such obligations, the Industry in turn has a right to ask for some contribution. If the industry is to receive State guarantee, some control of its finances must follow. Here again, the present experience of the Corporation is useful. The Government provides and reimburses the Corporation for certain services; it further underwrites the Corporation under the terms of a Financial Agreement with the Ministry of Labour.

The financial problem is difficult. Alternatives to sources of income have been discussed from time to time, such as a levy on imports and a poll tax on liner passengers; there are obvious social and practical objections to such proposals. But the problem is not insoluble if it is regarded as primarily a matter for the Industry as a whole and as part of a general organisation. In this, the Government may have to help, as previously, as a focal point for the varied interests and the Unions must accept their responsibility for devising some plan; it is not only a matter for the Employers. The opinion of the men is hardening in support of some post-war organisation which will represent both sides of the Industry. These views will have the support of many employers. This reflects the work of the Corporation in the ports.

There are sound social reasons for some such scheme. Equally important is the fact that it is in the best interests of the country that this industry should be modernised in its financial structure, technical equipment and use of labour. Our ports will have to handle modern cargo fleets. Many overseas ports will have been equipped with new gear following the blasting of war. ' There is little logic in maintaining a 17-knot merchant fleet with but 10-knot port facilities '.

FOUNDATIONS FOR A DEMOCRATIC GERMANY[1]

by Dr. Carl Herz

When Bismarck was overthrown in March, 1890, the German Liberals rejoiced at the disappearance of the man whom they held responsible for their political impotence. But Eduard Bernstein, who edited the *Sozialdemokrat* from London, during the time of the anti-socialist laws, gave them this warning: 'Wait—to exchange the absolutism of the Hohenzollern for that of a Chancellor is a dubious advantage.' These words accurately anticipated future developments. However one may in retrospect evaluate the various forms of German absolutism, one thing is certain, absolutism has always remained the prevailing form of government in Prusso-Germany, and there has never been a successful revolution in Germany. The reader may object that German social democracy was until 1914 a strong counter-force, supposed to be the most advanced labour movement in the world. Did not this social democracy, it may be asked, dethrone the Emperor in 1918 and was not the Weimar Constitution (and the Weimar Republic based on it) the shining example of an advanced democratic system? In reply, we maintain that the foreign reader is the victim of a misrepresentation of history which is, unfortunately, still prevalent.

The statement which Heinrich Stroebel, a former editor of *Vorwarts* (the principal newspaper of the German Social Democratic Party), made a year after the November Revolution of 1918, shows that this point of view is by no means exceptional. He wrote : 'When we glance back over the first year of the Revolution, we can draw nothing but gloomy conclusions. With the exception of a few political climbers and a great number of profiteers, the whole country is profoundly dissatisfied with the course and results of the Revolution.'

THE ORIGINS OF THE REPUBLIC

In order to give documentary evidence of the reliability of this unfavourable judgment, we publish the 'birth-certificate' of the so-called Revolution of November, 1918, a document entirely unknown in England.

This 'birth-certificate' was contained in a military order—in accordance with the military tradition which the Weimar Republic so carefully respected, It was signed by Hindenburg, (bearing the reference number 1a 11399 geh. op.). Clause 3 reads as follows : 'It may now be made public that the Supreme Command is prepared to unite with Chancellor Ebert, hitherto leader of the Social Democratic majority party, in order to prevent the spreading of terrorist Bolshevism in Germany.'

This military order, which was intended for the leading officers, refers to the famous agreement which had been reached by secret telegraphic communication between Ebert and Groener, Hindenburg's representative, on the previous evening, November 9, 1918. Prussian militarism, against which the

[1] Translated from the German. Readers who are interested in further detail are invited to write for Circular Letter No. 11, 13, 14, published by the author in conjunction with Lehmann-Russbueldt at 115, Biddulph Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W 9.

main force of the revolutionary movement was directed, was responsible for this agreement negotiated by the liberal politician Fredrich Naumann. A state founded on this basis could not transform the conservative structure of Prusso-German society. In discussing the German problem English socialists some times believe that they can confirm the democratic character of the Weimar Republic by pointing to the long established social democratic government. Those who have inside knowledge, however, realise that the activities of the social democratic Prussian administration show not only the conservative, but actually the reactionary, tendencies of the Weimar Republic and the hopeless rigidity of Prussian administration. The reasons for this lie deep in the history of the Prussian State.

THE STRAIT-JACKET OF PRUSSIAN ADMINISTRATION

In the loose federal Germany of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries those functions of the State which were later called *innere Verwaltung* (inner administration) in Prussia, were expressed by the word ' police '. The ' gute Polizey ' was, in the eighteenth century, the responsibility of the absolute ruler. The Prussian bureaucracy of the nineteenth century used this conception to stifle any democratic development inside Prussia. Prussia was the ' Polizeistaat ' (police State) *par excellence*. Von Stein's famous Municipal Corporations Act was thereby made ineffective, much against his will, and until this day there has been no true self-government in Prusso-Germany. The highest Prussian administrative court gave this judgment : ' Local Authorities are subject to the police '. Police, in this context, means *State* police, which was directed by aristocratic bureaucracy and which was used by the government as a reactionary instrument in the class war between nobility and bourgeoisie. The political administration was denoted by ' Hoheitsverwaltung ' (administration from above, by superiors), a conception unknown to the English mind. The economic and social administration left to the municipalities had no political significance and was not regarded as ' inner administration ' in the strict sense.

It is now understandable why Hugo Preuss, who drew up the original draft of the Weimar Constitution, was so gravely disappointed when in January, 1919, Ebert and Scheidemann, under the influence of particularist conservative tendencies, cancelled from his draft of the constitution these two decisive points, laying down : (1) the destruction of Prussia and (2) the linking of the local police with the municipality. Hugo Preuss was no mere theorist ; he knew exactly which vulnerable points to attack in his struggle against the Prussian reactionary system.

In order to give the reader a contemporary analysis I will quote a few sentences from a letter dated May 11, 1926, which I received from a member of the Reichstag, Mr. Sollmann. (Mr. Sollmann was Minister of the Interior in the Stresemann Cabinet ; he was on the extreme right of the social-democratic party.) This conservative-minded man wrote to me at the time : ' A short time ago one of the most shrewd of Germany's mayors said to me that the influence of the High Bureaucracy had never been so strong as now. He added that even under the system of franchise on a class basis, Prussia had not been so dominated by landed interests as under the present formal democracy. I would not entirely acccept this statement, but I would like to bring it to your notice, because this is a man to be taken seriously.' This statement which the mayor, whom I knew very well, made to Sollmann, merely reflected the unanimous opinion of the high civil servants including the democratic elements among them. Democrats in the very small circle of informed persons were as distressed over Severing's and Grezsinski's incompetence in political organization as over the almost catastrophically low standard of the social democratic faction in the Prussian diet.

A NEW ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

The new political order in Germany after the war must begin with the creation of a new *administration* not a new *constitution*. The process of rebuilding must not take place from the top downwards but, on the contrary, from the bottom upwards ; it must start with the municipality. According to a famous saying of the historian Niebuhr, freedom depends far more on the administration than on the constitution. The insane passion for centralisation of the Prussian administration must at last be broken. Even 75 years ago people spoke of the ' congestion in the brain of the administrative body ' in Prussia, to denote the odious totalitarian tendencies of the Prussian ministerial bureaucracy. To prevent the insatiable lust for power, which in the Weimar Republic had grown even more excessive, self-governing provinces must, as democratically organised units, make up the middle strata of the administration. The old idea of dividing the state into provinces with true self-government has remained, like every other progressive idea, pure theory in Prussia. In this way we quite naturally get a division into three strata from the bottom upwards : The local municipalities—in the country linked by districts (*Kreise*), then the provinces (*Laende*), and at the top the appropriate Minister.

These authorities must have two principles to guide them in their actions : (1) That the Minister shall not have executive powers, but only lay down principles for the executive. This had already been formulated 75 years ago by the famous Viennese economist Lorenz von Stein. (2) That executive powers must lie *exclusively* with Local and Provincial Authorities.

All special authorities, such as the Fiscal or Labour Office, are thereby abolished. This simplification will at last put an end to complexity of authorities. Under the weak guidance of the Republic the intricacy of the system had grown into a plague which was the cause of infinite quarrels over the power of the various officers.

THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM

But is it possible to start *now* with the regeneration of the German State ? Would not the elections be dominated by an even greater nationalism as a result of defeat ? Would not this nationalism form ' patriotic governments ' and create, in its struggle against the ' shameful peace ', the atmosphere for the same deceptive game in which *all* German parties took part after 1918 ? The facts justify this objection. Military nationalism is deeply rooted in German history. Hitler merely represents the last stage in this development. His fall would leave the old military nationalism as it developed from the days of Hollenzollern completely untouched and even afford it the possibility of new growth. It may unite with the class instincts of the upper classes against the workers. Even among the workers the mental attitude seems entirely unrevolutionary. The older people have probably not yet forgotten their terrible disappointment at the democratic government. The younger ones are nationalists. The mental state of the German people forces me to the conclusion that for the time being the German people cannot govern themselves, but must be governed.

I am not minimising the difficulties that lie in the way of such an enforced government and I also understand the opposition to it among the United Nations. It is not an easy task to impose a government on a people of seventy millions with a long history and—I purposely use the expression—with a highly developed cultural past. The policy of the United Nations will have to avoid two dangers : on the one hand it must not be influenced, as it was after 1918, by the patriotic clamour which all German propaganda will raise without distinction of party. On the other hand it must not approach German

life with English or American ideas. One must have inside knowledge of German administration and, working on the basis of already existing conditions, must *from there* find the way to a new order. This, of course, presupposes a very thorough knowledge of the organisation and psychology of the Prusso-German administration.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE FRAMEWORK

In all large German provincial towns, immediately after the military occupation, a reliable person should be appointed to office and *all authorities should be subordinated to him*, no matter whether they are State, provincial or municipal. The same person should also be responsible for the administration of the municipalities of the surrounding district. The choice can fall only on trained officials who are not only politically reliable—that can be taken for granted—but who also have the sound technical knowledge necessary for the reconstruction of a new administration. ' The ministerial authority must be formed by a body of officials who have proved to be politically reliable and technically competent. Politicians as such will be ineligible. *At first* it is not a question of suppressing the will of a democratic self-governing people, but rather of creating the structure inside which the basis for the development of the democracy can be laid. This has hitherto never happened.

This new administration should be controlled and supervised by a High Commissioner who should also direct the Cabinet of officials. In the provincial capitals subordinates of the High Commissioner should exercise local supervision.

Should Germany be divided into three spheres of influence after the military occupation—an English, an American and a Russian sphere—then each district should have a High Commissioner of its own. It is vital, however, that the direction should come from one *unified* authority representing the will of the United Nations.

After a certain period—let us say, for example, 5 years—the first elections should take place in the municipalities. In this way the German people will for the first time be given the opportunity to express its own political will. After a second period, elections should take place in the provinces. The third period ends with the election of a national assembly to draw up a constitution.

Three essential principles must form the framework of this constitution. They are : (1) the unitary republican state, (2) parliamentary democracy, and (3) the cabinet system under which ministers, and therefore the executive, is responsible to the parliamentary majority.

In order to avoid any misunderstanding, I would add that a unitary state is, of course, not synonymous with a centralised state. My main point is, on the contrary, that centralisation was the curse of Prusso-German development. Hugo Preuss expressed what I have in mind, by the formula : ' A decentralised self-governing state '. The building up, starting from the municipalities, of a system of self-governing bodies arranged in order of their authority, —that was the great aim which Freiherr von Stein had in view, but which the Prussian state bureaucracy rendered impossible.

The duration of the period prior to the election cannot yet be stated since it will depend on the attitude of the German people. There must be certainty that all classes unconditionally relinquish the idea of using military force as a means of settling international disputes. There will be no lack of attempts at evasion. Even a programme of defence, such as the one accepted by the German Social Democracy in 1929, was really strictly nationalist in spite of the enormously verbose pacifist phrases in which it was clothed.

The structure of the German State as it is here indicated must be part of an international treaty and must be placed under international supervision. That has happened once before in German history ; the new order in Germany established by the Congress of Vienna in 1815 was subject to an international guarantee to which all European rulers, with the exception of the Sultan and the Pope, pledged themselves.

It should be considered whether Berlin, with its specifically Prussian atmosphere, should not cease to be the capital of the reorganised State. In my opinion Frankfort, Dresden and Hamburg are out of the question ; Leipsig, which is already the seat of the Supreme Court, might be considered ; it is an unpoetic, unromantic merchants' town and for that very reason is a suitable antidote to the vague romantic ' Germanism ' so popular among the educated classes in Germany.

FURTHER MEASURES

The administration and the army were the instruments of power politics in the hands of German absolutism. After experience of the Weimar Republic it seems self-evident that the army must be liquidated completely. But here, too, one must point to the danger of deception. By no means may the German Government be allowed to keep a ' police force in barracks '—it would very quickly be converted into an army. There would obviously be enough dubious reasons for this at the disposal of nationalist circles, even though the Bolshevist bogey cannot be used again.

The occupying forces will have to take over the task of preserving *public order and security* in the country. This function of the ' Landespolisei ' (State Police), to use a phrase taken from Prussian administrative law, will later have to be transferred to an international police force. The *local* police should be exclusively the responsibility of the Local Authorities.

German absolutism—no matter whether that of Bismarck or William II, Hindenburg or Hitler—was supported by those two sections of society which determine the character of German life : the junkers in the East and the industrialists in the West.

This brings us to the second point which should be considered in a thorough examination of the German problem, but can only be mentioned here. That is the question of the *economic* measures to be taken against the landed and heavy industrial interests if peace is to be secure. Thirdly, there should follow a consideration of *cultural* measures which, under the misleading label of ' re-education ', has attracted particular interest among English readers, but has, in my opinion, been very wrongly tackled.

TOWARDS A DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

Finally, one question which will particularly interest the reader of this periodical. What are the prospects of a revival of the German Labour movement ? A new Labour movement will rise from the completely new conditions which, for the first time in German history, will offer a truly democratic basis for its development. The elements in Germany which have, with heavy personal sacrifices, remained loyal to the ideals of democracy and socialism—almost always in opposition to official party policy—will have to fulfil a historic function. They are, of course, very small in number.

English socialists can further the interests of world peace, of world democracy and of a workers' international by helping to lay the foundations on which the German people can advance towards self-liberation and become a peaceful member of the family of nations.

BRITISH TRADE UNIONISM

by Dr. N. Barou

The trade union movement has for the last century served as one of the main foundations of British democracy. When it is called upon to play its part in the transition from war conditions to a democratic and planned peace economy it will face its greatest trial. Trade unions should therefore 'examine their own organisation to make it in every respect ready to meet the tremendous calls that would be made upon it' (Burrow). During the last few years the conviction has been growing within the trade union movement that its organisation and activities require close investigation ; it is significant that while the Trades Union Congress in 1942 rejected a motion asking the General Council to re-examine the organisational problems of the movement, in 1943 it unanimously carried a similar motion. Factual knowledge about the development of British trade unions between the two world wars is, however, very limited. With the exception of the valuable symposium edited by G. D. H. Cole in 1938[1] no detailed survey of the movement has recently been published. Until now the bulk of trade union information has been produced by the Ministry of Labour and the Registrar General of Friendly Societies. They, however, publish only averages and summaries of various aspects of trade union activity. Such figures tend to conceal important special features.

SOME STATISTICS

Bearing in mind all these limitations, let us examine the available statistical information on trade union activities and organisation.

(a) Numbers

While the population of this country has increased since the beginning of the century by about a quarter, trade union membership has increased nearly four times since 1900. The following table shows the number of registered trade unions and their membership during this period ; about a quarter of the membership is in unions not affiliated to the T.U.C. :

TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP

	No. of Unions	*Total*	*Men*		*Women*	
		000's	000's	%	000's	%
1900 ..	1,323	2,022	1,868	92	154	8
1914 ..	1,260	4,145	3,708	88	437	12
1917 ..	1,241	5,498	4,620	81	878	19
1920 ..	1,384	8,348	7,024	83	1,324	17
1932 ..	1,081	4,444	3,698	80	746	20
1939 ..	1,008	6,231	5,298	83	973	17
1942 ..	976	7,781	6,113	79	1,668	21

It will be observed that the general upward trend in membership was always checked at times of crisis and depression. Though the depression of the early '30's was accompanied by a setback in trade union membership, this decrease was less violent than in 1920–22 ; but it must be taken into account that the world economic crisis occurred at a time when the unions had already lost most of their 'unsafe' members—those who only join in a boom period and

[1] See *British Trade Unionism Today*, by G. D. H. Cole in collaboration with 30 Trade Union Leaders and Other Experts. Gollancz 1938

leave the unions again at the first setback. The better economic conditions of the late '30's and, still more, the war itself, helped once again to raise the union membership to a new peak.

(*b*) *Density*

A numerically strong organisation is one of the main conditions of vital trade unionism. Therefore statistical information on the proportion of trade unionists to the total number of employees in a trade or industry (which we shall describe as the trade union density) is indispensable for judging the relative strength of trade union organisation in different spheres of economic life. There exist, however, a number of major obstacles, which make it very difficult to estimate this at all precisely, therefore the figures which follow must be regarded as rough estimates only.[1]

It has been calculated that in 1939 of the 46½ million inhabitants of this country, there were about 37 millions over 14 years of age of which about 23 millions were ' occupied ' outside their homes—and over 14 millions classified as ' unoccupied '. Among every 100 persons in the ' occupied ' group, 69 were manual workers, 25 clerical workers and 6 working on their own account. Taking into consideration that among the occupied people there were a number of young persons and people over 65 years of age, one can estimate that there must have been about 20 million people eligible for trade union membership.

The total number of trade union members at the end of 1939 was 6,233,556 —which represents over 31% of the eligible maximum. As there are considerable groups of wage earners, such as domestic workers or agricultural workers, which have been practically outside the reach of trade union organisation, the real trade union density in various trades is much higher than this comprehensive figure indicates.

The highest proportion of trade union membership in 1939 was on the railways and in mining—with over 80% of the workers being trade unionists ; they were followed by the boot and shoe industry, cotton industry, education and water transport with over 60% ; paper and printing with over 45% ; metal, engineering and kindred industries with about 35 to 40% ; building, woodwork and furniture, pottery and glass, other textile industries, entertainment and sport with around 25%. The lowest proportion was in the distributive trades ; commerce, banking and insurance with 16%, and agriculture with less than 10%.

(*c*) *Women Members*

The number of women members and their proportion of the total membership is increasing rapidly : it has grown from 154,000 in 1900, when it represented only 8% of the total to 1,668,000 in 1942, representing over 21%.

It is worth recalling that it is estimated that among the 37,300,000 people in this country over the age of 14, there are 19,600,000 women as against 17,700,000 men. Amongst women there were only 6,900,000 in the ' occupied ' group and 12,700,000 in the ' unoccupied ' one. The table on page 17 shows that the number of trade union members increased during this century by 285%,—the number of men increasing by 227% and that of women by 983%.

It is interesting to note that during the first three years of the first world war (1915–17) the number of men joining the unions was 1,353,000 and that of women 441,000—thus one woman joined for every three men. During the first three calendar years of 1940–42 the increase was nearly even—855,000 men and 695,000 women.

The proportion of women trade unionists to ' occupied ' women in 1939 is only half of that among men. There are probably two main reasons for this.

[1] One of the main difficulties is the absence of information on the distribution of membership in the two great general Unions—the Transport and General, and the Municipal and General—which cover between them nearly a fifth of the total membership.

The first is that comparatively few women are employed in those industries and trades which are the main strongholds of trade unionism, but very large numbers are employed in distribution, catering trades, laundries, chemical industry, banking and other trades in which trade union organisation is still undeveloped. Secondly, in some industries, such as paper and printing trades, or metal and engineering industries, trade union organisation is far stronger among the skilled than the non-skilled worker, and the discrepancy between the density figures for men and women can probably be explained by the fact that women are mainly among the less skilled workers in those industries.

There is no appreciable difference between the number of men and women employed in the cotton industry, among teachers and in pottery and glass manufacture ; and the discrepancy in the remaining textile and clothing trades is comparatively slight.

ORGANISATION

Trade union organisation has passed through many stages of development, and, when looked at to-day, shows traces of the ideas and forces which for over a hundred years helped to mould it.

(*a*) *Types*

Trade union organisation has been built by three main types of union, and each of them has a great influence on the aims and activities of the movement. The three types are the craft, the general, and the industrial unions.

The craft unions are the oldest union organisations characteristic of 19th century capitalism ; their policy and tactics were built on the fact that the skill of their members made them indispensable for industrial production. They endeavoured to safeguard their power by restricting the number of available craftsmen, and in such a manner to increase the demand for their services. Engels remarked rightly that this policy of exclusivity also meant ' the breeding by every such union of its own blacklegs '. The chief methods employed by the craft unions were long term apprenticeship as a condition of employment, the barring of women and youths from union membership, the restriction of total output per working time unit and limiting the employment of craftsmen to their particular job.

The stiff, non-forthcoming attitude of craft unions towards unskilled labour and women resulted in the demand for a new type of trade union, and the general unions developed to meet these demands. They catered for unskilled and semi-skilled workers, as well as skilled labour, employed in certain industries and trades. The semi-skilled and unskilled worker felt himself more at home in the general than in craft unions, where, even if they were admitted, they had been regarded as junior partners and had seen the effective control retained in the hands of the craftsmen.

The general unions' attitude to problems of organisation differs fundamentally from that of craft unions which aim to become all-embracing organisations, accepting as members any wage or salary earner.[1]

The third type—the industrial unions—are not fully developed in this country. Some of the unions have their local branches established in the place of employment of their members and in such a way embody one of the

[1] It is estimated that the two great general unions (the General and Municipal, and the Transport and General Unions) have sections dealing with workers belonging to over 40 industries and trades ; in 1938, about one quarter of the members of the former were municipal workers, and one-half of the latter were transport workers.

main elements of industrial unionism. Others, such as miners or textile unions, because of the special conditions of their industries, have a *de facto* industrial union organisation, as their members live around the industrial enterprise where they work.

Industrial unions aim to embrace all wage and salary earners employed in a given industry or trade and in each separate union of such industry or trade. They fight for an all round membership in each unit (factory, store, post office depot, office, hospital, etc.) and aim that every man and woman employed in such a unit, from the manager to the night watchman, should join the union. Taking into consideration the different type of work, they usually have their members divided into three main sections—manual, clerical and managerial or technical. Each section looks after the specific group interests and conditions of employment of its members. As they have among their members the managerial and technical personnel employed in the industry, they are better equipped than any other union to deal with the problems of the industry as a whole, and to take joint action with the employers' organisations or to take an active part in the management of the industry.

(b) National Organisation

Trade Union organisation is built on vertical and horizontal lines : the vertical organisation is formed by the national unions, composed of branches throughout the country, and the horizontal organisation by Trade Councils established in a given locality.

The number of registered unions has decreased during this century from 1,323 (in 1900) to 976 (in 1942), *i.e.*, by 26%, though their membership has increased during this period by 285%.

Of the 976 unions two-thirds, or 651, had a membership below one thousand ; they account for only 144,000 members, or less than 2% of the total.

On the other hand, sixteen great national unions with a membership of one hundred thousand and over, account for 4,647,000 members, or 60% of the total trade union membership of the country. Another thirty-three unions, with a membership between twenty-five and a hundred thousand, comprise a membership of 1,607,000 or 21% of the total.

Thus, four out of every five British trade unionists belonged (in 1942) to one of 49 large national trade unions, with a membership of over twenty-five thousands.

Because the great majority of the unions are craft unions dozens of them often operate in the same factory. It is interesting to note that the Soviet Trade Union delegation which visited this country during the war was struck by this fact and had specially underlined it in its report to the Soviet Trade Union Congress : ' In one works alone,' the Report reads, ' there can be not one but several trade unions. In some concerns there are as many as 30 or 40. That is because British Trade Unions are not organised on an industrial, but on a craft basis.'

' Together with the powerful Trade Unions such as those of the engineers, transport workers and unskilled workers which have a very large number of members, a factory may also have members from such trade unions as the Pattern Makers, Electricians, and so on, which have literally only one or two members in each place. These various Trade Unions in a single factory have no organisational ties between themselves.'

The Rules of the majority of the large national unions do not give sufficient advice on methods of branch organisation. Of the Rules of 37 National Unions which we investigated, only seven[1] provide in their statutes that mem-

[1] Railwaymen ; Locomotive Engineers ; tailors and garment workers ; printers and paper workers ; civil service clerical association ; Fire Brigades' Unions and Electrical.

bers should as a rule be organised in branches located in their place of employment ; this is the foundation of industrial unionism. The Rules of three unions[1] mention that their branches shall, in general, organise members according to their place of residence. The other unions use both methods alongside one another, though only two of them mention specifically in their Rules that local branches may be based on either industry, service or locality.

(*c*) *Local Organisation*

Local branches of national unions or independent local unions, combine sometimes in a local organisation, called a Trade Council. Trade Councils and their federations are the only bodies beneath the Trades Union Congress itself for the promotion of joint activities and for discussion between different unions. Information about Trade Councils is scant, as the Ministry of Labour discontinued publishing their Annual Statistics after 1924, when there existed 476 Trade Councils with 2,200,000 members. G. D. H. Cole estimated the number of Trade Councils in 1938 at roughly 500. The last Annual Conference of Trade Councils at Nottingham in May 1943 was attended by 253 delegates, representing 239 Trade Councils and 16 Federations.

There exists today a Trades Council Joint Consultative Committee (T.C.J.C.C.) under the auspices of the Trade Union Congress, consisting of six T.U.C. representatives and six representatives of the Councils. The latter are elected at the Annual Conferences of Trade Councils. One T.C.J.C.C. representative attends the Trades Union Congress conferences as a representative of all Trade Councils.

It is evident that not enough attention and support is given by the National Unions to the Trade Council organisation. Of the Rules of 37 National Unions with a membership of over twenty-five thousands which we investigated only thirteen refer to the Trade Councils ; and only two of them—the Boot and Shoe operatives and the Tailors and Garment Workers—make it obligatory for their branches to affiliate to a local Trade Council, if such a body exists. Of the remaining 35, only eleven mention that their 'branches may affiliate with a Trade Council.' Among the Unions whose Rules make no reference to the Councils are the largest National Unions, including the Amalgamated Engineering Union, the Transport and General Workers' Union, the Mineworkers' Federation.

The methods of financing the Trade Councils vary greatly ; at the last Annual Conference the Trade Union Congress was asked to unify the system nationally, and a special circular was issued by the T.U.C. in May 1943. The contributions to the Trade Councils are small and not many of them are even in a position to have a paid secretary.

The position of Trade Councils needs urgent revision and strengthening. They can serve as one of the best methods for the revival of trade union democracy—especially in a regionalised and planned democratic economy. An appropriate method must be found to give them adequate representation in the Trades Union Congress and Conferences.[2]

TRADE UNION TASKS AND THEIR FULFILMENT

Trade Unions started as the defence organisation of employed workers against the employers and they put before themselves certain objectives, some of which were connected with the direct tasks of maintaining their employment and improving their remuneration and conditions of work, and others arose as supplementary aims.

The main aims of trade union organisation can be shortly summarised as follows : (*a*) to secure the position of their members in employment, (*b*) to

[1] Boot and shoe operatives, brass and metal mechanics and seamen.

[2] The question of shop stewards is not covered in this article as it requires fuller treatment than is possible here.

secure and safeguard increases in their remuneration, (*c*) to improve their working time and conditions in general, (*d*) to provide mutual aid, benefit and insurance services, (*e*) to improve the educational, cultural and professional standards of their members, and (*f*) to defend their political interests and to serve as a practical school of industrial labour democracy.

It would be of considerable interest to see (*a*) how these aims are dealt with in the financial economy of the trade union organisation, (*b*) how the chief weapon of trade union organisation—the strike—is being used in trade union struggles, (*c*) what interest trade union membership takes in the political activities of the unions.

(*a*) *Trade Union Finance*

We will group trade union finance under three main sections—(*a*) Fighting Funds, which includes dispute benefit and political levy, (*b*) Welfare Funds, including all kinds of benefits, insurance, etc., and (*c*) Working Expenses covering the cost of running the organisation.

Year	*Average Contributions*	EXPENSES *Fighting Fund*	*Welfare Fund*	*Working Expenses*	*Total Expenses*
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	s. d.	£ s. d.
1918 ..	1 3 6	1 7	7 2	9 7	18 4
1919 ..	1 6 1	6 10	7 11	11 4	1 6 1
1920 ..	1 12 3	9 11	10 0	17 1	1 17 0
1921 ..	2 2 8	13 3	1 15 6	18 9	3 7 6
1922 ..	1 15 7	6 10	1 0 6	16 5	2 3 9
1923 ..	1 16 0	4 3	14 2	16 1	1 14 6
1924 ..	1 17 4	6 5	14 7	17 5	1 18 5
1925 ..	1 15 10	1 11	16 4	15 8	1 13 11
1926 ..	1 12 8	1 6 8	19 6	16 3	3 2 5
1927 ..	1 16 6	1 7	16 6	15 4	1 13 5
1928 ..	1 16 10	1 3	18 0	15 11	1 15 2
1929 ..	1 17 7	3 0	17 9	16 6	1 17 3
1930 ..	1 17 7	2 2	1 1 9	16 3	2 0 2
1931 ..	1 17 0	1 10	1 4 1	16 7	2 2 6
1932 ..	1 17 6	2 0	1 3 1	16 8	2 1 9
1933 ..	1 17 10	1 9	1 0 4	16 1	1 18 2
1934 ..	1 19 2	1 2	18 1	16 10	1 16 1
1935 ..	1 18 5	2 2	16 5	16 0	1 14 7
1936 ..	1 14 9	1 5	13 9	16 5	1 11 7
1937 ..	1 15 8	2 0	13 4	15 1	1 10 5
1938 ..	1 16 0	1 2	14 0	15 10	1 11 0

When we analyse these figures we notice immediately the low average of contributions paid by members. Notwithstanding these low contributions the unions have accumulated considerable funds,—the average amount per member increasing from £2 2s. 0d. (in 1890), £2 6s. 0d. (in 1920) to £4 2s. 0d (in 1938). Recent figures published by Mr. Halpern show that the average for the six largest unions in the country have risen from £4 15s. 0d. (in 1938) to £5 8s. 0d. (in 1942) per member.[1]

As can be seen from the table, with the exception of a few fighting years (1919—1926) the fighting funds comprise a very small part of the total ex-

[1] See a very interesting article by D. B. Halfern in *The Bulletin of the Institute of Statistics*, No. 14, Vol. 5: 'The Trade Union Movement since the outbreak of the War'.

penditure—representing only between 5% and 10%. The bulk of the remaining expenditure is divided between the working expenses and welfare funds.

It is evident, therefore, that the dispute benefits represent a very small part of the expenditure of the unions ; the unions have avoided financing strikes on a large scale. They are able to give support in local disputes, but should such local dispute grow to regional or national scale, the unions would soon find it difficult to face their long duration. This has a direct and important bearing on the whole tactics of British trade unions, as can be seen from the following pages dealing with strike activities.

(b) Strike activities

An analysis of the strike movement in this country during the last quarter century serves as the best illustration of the character of the change which has been taking place in the activities of trade unions. The strike used to be the main weapon in keeping the balance of power between the employers and the wage earners. It served as the last argument in industrial disputes. It is evident, however, that during the last two decades the use of strike action was on the decline, and the unions have used it less and less as a method of settling disputes or improving their working conditions.

The year of the general strike is a landmark in the history of trade disputes since the last war. Between 1918 and 1926, an average of well over 1,200,000 work-people struck or were involved in lock-outs during each year.

In the seventeen years between 1927 and 1943, however, the average number of work-people involved in trade disputes was a bare 331,000 per year—about a quarter of the average during the former period. During the war, at least till the end of 1943, the unions had been successful in avoiding large-scale trade disputes ; despite the high volume of employment, only 559,000 workers were involved in disputes in 1943. There were, however, widespread strikes in the early part of 1944.

The average number of people involved in each individual dispute between 1918 and 1926 was 2,010, or if we exclude 1926 as an exceptional year, we arrive at the low figure of 1,025 for the years 1918 to 1925. The corresponding figure for the seventeen years between 1927 and 1943 has been only 550 workers per dispute. The average total annual number of disputes was still comparatively high—685 for 1927–43, compared with 862 for 1918–1925—in spite of the decrease of strike activities during these years.

In 1941, 1942 and 1943 the total number of people per dispute reached almost a low record, with 288, 350 and 313 respectively.

Disputes as a rule became less intense and consequently shorter: the average number of days lost annually for the 1927–43 period has been only about 8 per worker involved. The duration of the disputes during the war was again particularly short, averaging between 3 and 4 days in 1939–43 and increasing to 5 days in the first half of 1944. [Between 1939 and 1943 5,720,000 days were lost as a result of strikes—this represents only about one-quarter of the 20,927,000 days lost during the shorter period of 1914–17.] It is clear, however that during the last decades the strike movement has been gradually contracting, and the size and importance of disputes, with a few exceptions, have declined throughout the whole period.

Strikes are still a risky business. The number of disputes which ended with the clear defeat of the workers was larger in the majority of cases during the last 50 years than the number of clear victories. During the 14 years from 1926—39 only in two years (1931 and 1935) were more disputes clearly successful for the workers than for the employers.

As regards the settling of disputes, strike negotiations between employers and workers is still the most frequent method ; this shows the effectiveness of trade union organisation in this field.

(*c*) *Political activities*

All major trade unions which are affiliated to the T.U.C. are also affiliated to the Labour Party for the proportion of their members paying the political levy. They are thereby committed to the programme of a democratic Socialism, but only a small number make it clear in their Rules, in so many words, that democratic Socialism is their political goal.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century trade unions have taken a direct part in political life by forming the backbone of the Labour Party and supplying a large proportion of its parliamentary representation. Since 1918 the composition of the Parliamentary Labour Party has been as follows :

ANALYSIS OF LABOUR M.P.S BY NOMINATING BODIES, 1918 TO 1935

	1918	1922	1923	1924	1929	1931	1935
Total	57	242	191	151	288	46	152
Divisional Labour M.P.s ..	5	19	39	25	128	13	63
Co-op.	–	4	6	5	9	1	9
I.L.P.	3	31	39	29	36	–	–
Social Democratic Federation	–	–	4	3	–	–	–
Fabians	–	1	2	1	–	–	–
Trade Unions	49	87	101	88	115	32	80
of which							
Miners	25	43	44	41	43	22	35

Thus, in 1918, the proportion of Labour M.P.s nominated by trade unions was 86% and in 1935—51%.

The main shortcoming of trade union participation in the political field is the apathy among members. This is revealed by the small numbers participating in the election for the executive, especially in local elections. The low percentage of members participating in elections and responsible for the conduct of business, and the absence of dynamic democracy in the trade unions, represents a grave danger for the future of the movement which must be corrected at all costs.

This deficiency in interest in political activity is also shown by the comparatively low percentage of trade unionists who pay their political levies and are so-called *political members*. The table below shows the percentage of such members in various trade union groups.

PERCENTAGE OF TRADE UNION MEMBERS AFFILIATED TO THE LABOUR PARTY IN VARIOUS TRADE UNIONS AFFILIATED TO THE T.U.C.

	1937	1941	1942
1. Mining and Quarrying	75	70	66
2. Railways	61	56	53
3. Transport Workers	53	45	39
4. Shipbuilding	20	18	19
5. Engineering	28	15	16
6. Metal Manufacture	36	35	34
7. Building, Woodworking and Furniture ..	21	22	16
8. Printing and Paper	34	27	27
9. Cotton	70	77	80
10. Textiles other than Cotton	40	39	34
11. Clothing	20	30	23
12. Leather and Boot and Shoe	47	41	46
13. Glass, Pottery, Chemicals, Food, Drink, Tobacco, Brushmakers and Distribution..	72	63	56
14. Agriculture	62	66	68
15. Public Employees	—	12	10
16. Non-Manual Workers	12	38	35
17. General Workers	71	44	33
Average ..	52	42	36

This table shows that the proportion of trade union members affiliated to the Labour Party decreased between 1937—1942 from 52 to 36%, *i.e.* by one-third. The actual decrease is very small and amounts to only 8,000 members. But the proportional decrease is very alarming, indicating that the Labour Party is not moving in step in its political propaganda among trade unionists with the growth of the trade union movement during the four war years.

CONCLUSION

Since the beginning of the twentieth century considerable changes have taken place in the structure of modern capitalism, most noteworthy being the acceleration of the trend towards monopolistic practices. Strong associations of employers are developing rapidly, following the concentration of industries into larger units, and the trade unions had to face strong employers' organisations in each industry on a national and often international scale.

At the same time new technical methods and equipment are opening up industries to large masses of semi-skilled and unskilled labour, to women and youths. Under these new conditions craft unionism has been losing its *raison d'etre*, and the way has been open for the growth of general and industrial unions.

The adjustment of trade union organisation has been made more imperative as a result of social changes. Of these urbanisation is one of the most important. Over 50% of the population of this country now lives in or around fourteen towns ; as a result a considerable part of the working population has to travel to its place of employment. The fact that wage-earners work and live in different places undermines the old method of democratic organisation based on ' local ' (geographical) units. Membership must now be organised in the place of employment, and the new industrial, not the old local, units must serve as the foundation for modern trade unionism.

The change in the functions of the modern State has, also, a great influence on trade union policy ; unions have to face for the first time responsibility not only for the conditions of labour, but also for the work of their members and for production.

These social, economic and political changes make imperative a rapid changeover from craft and general to trade unions organised on industrial foundations of a separate enterprise and of whole industries. Such unions will be able not only to defend the conditions of labour, but also to play their part in the organisation and conduct of industry.

These new developments also force the trade unions to change their attitude to the capitalist State, and to switch over from defensive methods to active participation in the economic life of the nation, and claim due representation in the economic institutions created by the State. The unions are compelled also to pay much more attention to the political life of the nation and the activities of the Labour Party.[1]

Immediately after this war the trade unions will have to face a multitude of complicated political and economic problems. Their handling of them will depend mainly on the forces built up within the trade union movement, on the effectiveness of their organisation, and upon their courage and understanding of the machinery of their own industry and of modern capitalism. Now is the time to prepare for these great tasks by improving and strengthening organisation, research, education and the political activities of the unions.

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[1] See Sir Walter Citrine's appeal (September 1944) to trade unionists to join the Labour Party : " The trade unionist has a direct interest in politics. That is why he should be a member of the Labour Party."

BOOK REVIEWS

A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF WAR AND PEACE by Mark A. May (Yale ; and O.U.P. 18/6)

A useful study, in terms of the modified Behaviourism ascendant in America, of the processes of learning ' to hate and fight, to fear and escape, to love and defend, etc.'. Dr May is perhaps a little too optimistic about the extent to which citizens may be ' conditioned ' to make the required responses—or is it pessimistic ?—but his exposition of the mechanics of social learning is lucid and convincing in the main. He offers the conclusion that loyalty to an international authority could be achieved reasonably quickly and surely, though it would be necessary first to establish the authority ; and this should not be left until the end of the War fatally reduces the ' drive ' that would set it up. K. H.

CAN WE AFFORD IT ? by Oscar Hobson (King and Staples 5/–)

This volume consists mainly of a selection of the essays which Mr Hobson daily contributes to the News Chronicle, of which he is City Editor. The book constitutes, as he suggests in his preface, a running commentary on wartime economic events through which certain threads of thought may be detected. Throughout the essays Mr Hobson tilts at the more unorthodox monetary reformers, and in a well balanced and thoughtful style expresses his belief in commercial competition, the profit motive and other ideas which to-day are being questioned. L. W. W.

THE PROBLEM OF VALUATION FOR RATING by J. R. Hicks, U. K. Hicks, and C. E. V. Leser (Cambridge University Press 7/6)

The second of three short studies on local finance, this paper contains a valuable sample analysis of the undervaluation of dwelling-houses in 1938, based on the still unpublished findings of the Departmental Committee on Valuation for Rating. The most important conclusion reached is that (contrary to popular belief) under-valuation is more common in areas of high rateable value than it is in areas where rateable value is low ; until it is eradicated, therefore, it will tend to increase, not mitigate, local disparities in rate poundages. In an attempt to meet the critics of a full revaluation, the proposals for reform deal mainly with means of preventing new and/or small houses from being too heavily penalised. J. C. G.

CIVIL AVIATION by Michael Young (Pilot Press 4/6)

AIR POWER AND THE EXPANDING COMMUNITY by Major Oliver Stewart (George Newnes 15/–.)

The first of these books conforms to the ' Target for Tomorrow ' model by giving a historical review followed by a for-and-against statement of the several aspects of the future problem. The author is much clearer on the final target to be aimed at than on the practical steps needed to beat (or convert) the reactionaries and self-seekers who aim at the quite diffierent target of making aviation a milch-cow yielding subsidies. This book is ' must ' reading for anyone already interested in the subject, and a perfect introduction for those coming fresh to it. Major Stewart's accounts of the past are generally readable, but his arguments about the future are invariably fallacious, in particular, that war is chiefly the product of the growth of communities. His correlation of transport speeds and values ignores the all-important factor of flow. I. M.

INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS by Brig.-Gen. Sir H. O. Mance and J. E. Wheeler (Royal Institute of International Affairs) (O.U.P. 7/6)

This brief but careful analysis of the development of international communication, has more than an interest to those associated professionally with the cable, telephone and radio services. For them it will contribute to their essential general knowledge.

It will be of interest, however, to others who wish to see in practice how instruments of international utility can be organised to the best international public service of which they are capable.

Many national and sectional predudices have had to be broken down in the past but clearly there will be an even greater call after this war for a *will* to international co-operation. This book adds evidence that in all our commercial and industrial activities we must substitute for clandestine monopoly a real sense of public service. G. A. B.

ECONOMICS AS APPLIED TO PRODUCTION AND FACTORY ORGANISATION by A. H. Huckle (Publisher: The Author 15/-)
A big title for quite a good simple account of some of the items of a production system. Assumes a knowledge of the basic ideas of production control in bulk manufacture. Obviously based on an individual factory, but with some chapters on elementary principles. Would be an eye-opener to those who think that forms are only filled in for Government Departments. Those illustrated could do with some tidying up. A. A.

PROBLEMS OF SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH Nuffield College (O.U.P. 2/-)
A rather dull account of the problems of industrial research in the field of the physical and biological sciences. Not very controversial and not very conclusive. A. A.

CURRENCY AFTER THE WAR by Paul Einzig (Nicholson and Watson 9/-)
Great Britain faces serious post-war economic problems of which the only lasting remedy is through international co-operation.
Professor Einzig's very readable book on international monetary policy between the wars is, therefore, especially welcome when everyone should have a working knowledge of this difficult subject.
After outlining currency history and summarising the British and American Plans, Professor Einzig foreshadows the difficulties encountered at Bretton Woods. This book should be even more widely read in the U.S.A. than in Great Britain. F. J. L.

REMOBILISATION FOR PEACE by Sir Ronald Davison (Pilot Press 4/6)
One of the ' Target for Tomorrow ' Series, popularly written and well illustrated. The post-war problem is considered as a ' remobilisation ' of resources and manpower to serve the purposes of peace. Sir Ronald suggests that for a five-year period of grace, reconstruction policies and plans should be excluded from party conflicts. The root of the matter may be too deep for effective plans to be agreed upon between political parties ; but the book is stimulating and well worth consideration. A. F.

NUTRITION AND NATIONAL HEALTH by Sir Robert McCarrison (Faber and Faber 6/-)
Nutrition is the most important single factor in the promotion of good health—this doctrine has been preached by the author of this book for many decades and it was in the Cantor lectures, delivered in 1936, that he condensed his life-long experience of nutritional research in India. Here we find the famous parallelism between food and physique of different Indian races, notably the Sikhs and Bengalis. We are shown, probably for the first time, that rats grown on a typical western modern refined diet suffer from the same diseases as their human counterparts, while rats on a typical Sikhs diet are in remarkably good health. The Cantor lectures are indeed a classic, much quoted and seldom read, and this justifies the unusual course taken by the publishers of re-issuing them unaltered, although our knowledge of this subject has since enormously expanded. G. S. F.

THE ENGLISHMAN AND HIS HISTORY by H Butterfield Current Problems No. 19 (Cambridge University Press 3/6)

THE DEVICE OF GOVERNMENT by John Laird (Cambridge University Press 6/-)
Two little books from Cambridge The first is a rather pompous essay on the development of the Whig tradition in English history, its value in assuring the country against revolution, and the enormous superiority of English life to that of a country which has been the scene of revolution such as France—neither U S A nor the U S S R being mentioned. The inference, a somewhat complacent one, is that the Englishman works with Time and History, and for that is much to be commended.

The second is an admirable discussion in brief of political theory in general, the way in which government works and the meaning of such terms as sovereignty, democracy, and the like. Professor Laird wrote it as a result of lectures and discussions with members of the forces, and all students of political and social theory would do well to read it. Even where the reader disagrees with the conclusions he cannot help admiring the clarity, common sense and humour of the author. M. I. C.

SOCIAL THERAPY by M. B. and S. M. Hale (Williams and Norgate 5/-)
Social case-work notes woven into an argument for skilled professional standards of social work. Useful introductory reading for students and voluntary workers, but no substitute for solid training. The authors are not concerned with the function of the social services nor with the background of social and economic knowledge which their administrators increasingly require. S. C.

CIVIL SERVICE STAFF RELATIONSHIPS by E. N. Gladden (William Hodge 12/6)
A thorough and penetrating account of Civil Service Whitley Councils and Staff Associations, their history, aims and major battles. A Bibliography, lists of Civil Service Staff Associations and Journals, and an illustrative " Diary of Events ", are appended. The author discusses Civil Liberties, staff training, political problems, and promotion. He concludes that these Civil Service organisations contribute to the flexibility which is necessary if the Civil Service is to remain an adequate governmental instrument in a changing society.
J. S. C.

CHARTER FOR THE SOIL by John Drummond (Faber and Faber 10/6)
A very readable apologia by ' a small Scottish laird ', who realises the landlord-tenant system is played out and is experimenting with a central estate-form to service the tenant-farms with specialist equipment and marketing facilities. Although against nationalisation he has few of the illusions of his class and does not claim any subsidies for agriculture. A bit of a crank, who has read widely but uncritically, and rather too inclined to see every problem in terms of his own good land. F. W. B.

BRITISH POLICE AND THE DEMOCRATIC IDEAL by Charles Reith (O U P 12/6)
There is much vague talk at the present time about an international police force but not enough consideration has been given to the principles on which such a police force would be based and how far it could correspond with national police forces. Charles Reith has now remedied this gap in knowledge so far as national police forces are concerned by this fascinating and detailed account of the history of the first eleven years of the British Police Force.
He describes the hostility it first met with from the public and how gradually on the whole it won through confidence to an extent that continental police have never been able to do. On pages 3 and 4 he sets out nine principles of police and no democrat could quarrel with them. It is perhaps questionable whether since the last war the police have always observed these principles and it is disquieting that the report of the Royal Commission of Police Powers and Procedure 1929 (Cmd. 3297 3/-, H.M. Stationery Office) has, in the main, been ignored. Those with knowledge say that many of the practices condemned by this Commission are flourishing to a greater extent than in the twenties. Nevertheless, reformers here do not wish to change the basis of the police force but only to modify some of its administration.
The ideas on which the British Police are based have spread widely throughout the world. The question now to be decided is how far are they applicable to an international police force. Charles Reith's book is valuable, first for his study of the British Police force, but much more for the light it throws on what a police force should be and how it should operate. His last chapter discusses the future of the police idea in the international sphere. Here he puts forward proposals which I believe are entirely new, and which, while not preventing military power from being used, would ensure that it would be used as an adjunct of the police and not as military force employed at the whim of national states. All who are interested in building a new international order should read and consider what he has to say. R. S. W. P.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC SERVICES IN WESTERN EUROPE 1660-1930 by Sir Ernest Barker (O U P 5/-)

This little volume, which the author claims as but a tentative and preliminary study based on a comparative method, deals with the development of public administration in France, Great Britain and Prussia.

The methods are considered by which the State enforces the duties of maintaining order and peace and of providing a revenue to support the cost of public services. A comparison is also made of the means of securing the rights to social services and education arising out of those duties.

Sir Ernest Barker finds some hope for the future in his conclusion that the Western States of Europe ' have combined, however unconsciously, to promote the growth of a common European standard of administration and public service '.

Politicians and administrators concerned with rehabilitation in Europe will find in this book an invaluable background to their problem. A. F.

DEMOCRATIC IDEALS AND REALITY by Sir Halford Mackinder (Pelican Books 9d)

First published in 1919 this book states the geographical fundamentals of world politics and in its text and maps reminds the reader of the realities of population, language and land-mass distribution, realities which if ignored or insufficiently considered will prove dangerous obstacles to the realisation of the ideals of democracy. This is a warning especially applicable to those who, with eyes focused on their ideal, tend to overlook or minimise the rock-strewn road of realities which bar their path. E. P.

THE FUTURE OF ECONOMIC SOCIETY by R. Glenday (Macmillan 16/-)

Another attempt by the economic adviser to the F B I to marry economics and biology. Dealing with the economics of the group rather than of the individual, the conclusion is reached that capitalism in its present form will soon become unworkable. The solution put forward is that of the Service State, in which ' economic activities must be conceived and planned as a single communal operation to which all component private interests must be subordinated '. Mr Glenday damns uncontrolled individualism and sees much to praise in the present organisation of Russia. At this point official qualms must have supervened, for he surrounds himself with contradictions, metaphors and analogies, and ends with the unexceptionable, if unhelpful, quotation : ' Men must be governed by God or they will be ruled by tyrants '. A. A.

THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM OF THE PEACE by Walter Padley (Gollancz 6/-)

The author's thesis is that only by the formation of a European Socialist Party and the creation of a Socialist United States of Europe can chaos be avoided. A plea is made for the vertically-organised industrial union, and the question asked, ' Must we not go back to Hardie before we go forward to Socialism ? ' Some good points are made, but little account is taken of inherent practical difficulties. The book is enlivened by a running skirmish with G. D. H. Cole. Rosa Luxemburg alone obtains unqualified approval. A. A.